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OGLALA KINSHIP TERMS

By JAMES R. WALKER

THIS paper is based on information obtained from many sources among the Oglala Lakota. Much of the information was fragmentary and repetitive, and none of it was systematized. The best was a paper written in Lakota by Thomas Tyon, an Oglala. This, with an interlinear translation and interpretation, is hereto appended.

When Lakota words or phrases are used they are followed by a translation in parentheses, and if this does not express the concept definitely it is followed by an interpretation, also in parentheses.

A few of the Lakota terms cannot be translated; for instance, the term *oma-wa-heton*, which expresses the relationship of the parent of a married child to the parent of the one to whom the child is married.

The suffixes *-ci*, *-ksi*, or *-si* indicate that connubial relation should not be had with the one to whom the relationship is expressed.

The suffixes *-cu*, *-ku*, or *-tku* are the equivalent of the English preposition "of," as, for instance, *hunku* (mother-of). Sometimes this is duplicated, as in *atkuku*, from *atku* (father-of), the duplicated form being used in speaking of the father of a definite person.

The suffix *-la* gives to a term an endearing significance, and is equivalent to the English suffixes *-ie* or *-y* in such words as "auntie" and "sonny." This suffix may be added to most of the terms of relationship. It is habitually used with some of the terms, such as *hoksila* (boy), *tunkansila* (grandfather), and many others.

The suffix *-pi* indicates the plural.

The suffix *-ya* with terms of relationship expresses the concept of "considered" or "considered as."

The relationship to the first person is expressed by the possessive pronoun *mi* preceding the term, except in those cases where the term expresses this relationship. The relationship to the second person is expressed by the possessive pronoun *ni* (your) preceding the term.

The relationship to the third person is expressed by the suffixes *-cu*, *-ku*, or *-tku*, the term being preceded by the name of the one to whom the relation is held.

The possessive pronoun *ta* (his or her) is habitually used with some of the terms of relationship, but this does not alter the manner of expressing the relationship to the persons; for instance, *ta-wicu* (his-woman, wife) would thus be expressed in her relationship to persons:

<i>mi-ta-wicu</i>	my wife.
<i>ni-ta-wicu</i>	your wife.
<i>ta-wicu-ku</i>	his wife.

This paper is written as if by an Oglala at the time when the customs and usages of the Lakota prevailed among them.

Those who speak certain dialects and conform to certain customs and usages are Lakota. The Lakota are allied against all others of mankind, though they may war among themselves. They are *oyate ikce* (native people), and are *ankantu* (superior), while all others of mankind are *oyate unma* (other-people), who are *ihukuya* (considered-inferior). This is the relation of the Lakota to all others of mankind, and if any refuse to acknowledge this relation they are *tokoyapi* (considered-enemies), and should be treated as such.

The Lakota *taku-kiciyapi* (consider-one-another-kindred), because they are all either *owe* (of-blood, of-one-blood), or *oweya* (considered-of-blood). The *owepi* are those whose ancestors were *owepi*. The *oweyapi* are those who have ancestors who were *owepi*, but who have one or more ancestors who were *oyate unma* (other people).

The bonds of relationship of the Lakota are stronger between the *owepi* than they are between the *oweyapi*. These bonds depend on the following conditions: The Lakota are divided into seven *otonwepi* (of-own-blood tribal divisions), of which the Tinta-tonwan (Camp-on-plains = Teton) is the principal *otonwe*. The Tinta-tonwan are divided into seven *ospayepi* (divisions), the Oglala being the principal *ospaye* of these seven.

The Oglala are divided into seven *ti-ospayepi* (tipi-divisions = bands); each *ti-ospaye* is composed of one or more *wico-tipi* (camps), and each camp is composed of two or more *ti-ognakapi* (husbanded-tipis).

Thus the strength of the relationship of one Lakota to another is in the following order: 1, *ti-ognaka*; 2, *wico-tipi*; 3, *ti-ospaye*; 4, *ospaye*; 5, *otonwe*.

A *ti-ognaka* is established in the following manner: A man should take a woman to be *ta-win* (his-woman, his-wife). It is better that she should not be *wico-we* (they-blood, of his immediate family), whose relationship to him is not expressed by a term ending in *cu*, *ksi*, or *si*, and it is better still if she is not of *ti-wahe* (belonging to-the-tipi = any relative of his family), and it is best if she should not belong to his *wico-tipi* (camp). It is the most fitting that he should woo her and *wohpe* (pay-the price-of-a-woman) for her. The price of a woman is six buffalo robes or their equivalent in value, and should be paid to those who have the disposal of her, who are, in the order of the priority of their claims: her elder sister's husband; her parents; her elder brother; her elder sister; her *hunka* (adopted relatives.)

If he cannot get a woman in this manner he may take her by capture, that is, take her without the consent of any one. Or, some one may present him with a woman, in which case he must accept her, though if he does not wish to keep her he may present her to another. If he has taken a woman as captive from another people, it is his duty to have her bear Lakota children, and if he is not inclined to beget children by her he should present her to one who will do so.

By whatsoever method he gets a woman, when they have consummated their sexual relationship, he becomes *hingna* (husband), and she becomes *ta-win* (his woman); or in case she is a captive from another people, then she becomes *ta-winu* (his captive woman).

If the woman he has taken has not a tipi of her own, they should do as follows: If he has *wohpe* he should go with her to the tipi where she has dwelt, for he is *ta-wicu-ton* (possession of his wife), and abide there until she shall erect her own tipi. He is then *wica-*

woha (buried-man) to his wife's mother and sisters, and should not address them, neither should they address him while he abides in this tipi. If he has obtained the woman in any other manner, she should go to the tipi where he abides. Then she becomes *wino-woha* (buried-woman) to his father and brothers, and they should not address her, nor she them, while she abides in this tipi.

It becomes the man's duty to provide her with skins so that she may make the material for a tipi as soon as possible. This should be done before their first child is born, because if a child is born to them while either of them is *woha*, it is of the *wico-we* (immediate-family) of the one whose tipi it is born in, and does not belong to the one who is *woha*. Further, while either the man or the woman is *woha*, they do not constitute a family, and are *ti-wahe* of the family in whose tipi they abide. They cannot be counted in estimating a *wico-tipi*, or camp. As soon as the woman erects her tipi she should lead the man to it and permit him to enter preceding her, and he should seat himself on the *catku* (honor-place; at the back of, inside the tipi, opposite the door). Then she should make a fire on the *oce-ti* (tipi-bottom; fireplace at center, inside the tipi), and seat herself at the left side of the fire before him. When she has done this, they are *wastel-keya* (established well), and are freed from *woha*, and the tipi is *ti-gnaka*. He becomes *hin-gnaku* (husband of), and she becomes *ta-wicu-ku* (his wife of), and they are counted in estimating a camp. If a man take a woman who has a tipi of her own, he seats himself on the *catku*, and this makes of it a *ti-gnaka*, and it is estimated in counting a camp.

If a man take a woman who has a younger sister, or sisters, he has the prior claim to take them as his women, and to the *wohpe* for them.

If he takes one or more of them as his additional women they should dwell in the tipi of the sister already married to him, and there will be no additional *ti-gnaka* established. The relation to one another of sisters married to the same man is expressed by the term *teyak*, and they so address one another. But if a man takes an additional woman who is not a sister of the one he has had, then she should erect and establish a *ti-gnaka* of her own, which will be

counted in estimating a camp. A tipi that is maintained by a woman without a husband is *ti-gnaka-sni* (not husbanded tipi), and is not counted in estimating a camp, because it belongs to the *ti-wahe* from which she came. A man who has more than one woman is *wica-bluze* (polygynous man).

The man is the head of the family, and his relation to his wife is that of an owner, and he may do with her as he pleases without being accountable to any one, except that he may not cripple or kill her. If he should cripple or kill her, he is accountable to her *wico-we* (immediate family), who may either maim him, or take his life, as the case may be, or accept the price of a woman, which in such cases is twelve buffalo robes or their equivalent in value. He may abandon her at his pleasure, or present her to any one, either as a temporary or as a permanent gift. To give a wife temporarily to another is the greatest courtesy that can be shown. To refuse to accept such courtesy is an insult to both the man and the woman, which are both free to resent in a marked manner. The woman owns the tipi and all that pertains to it, except the man's clothing and accouterments, and the children are by priority hers, except when the woman is a captive from another people.

Her relation to her man is that of subservience, and she may not abandon him without his consent. If she does so, she forfeits all her rights to the tipi and the children, and becomes *wino-wanzica* (lone-woman), and the man may inflict on her such punishment as he sees fit, usually by disfiguring her in some conspicuous manner, such as cutting off her nose or one of her ears. The relationship of children is considered first to their mother, and then to their father, but they belong to their father's camp.

The relationships within the *ti-ognaka* are:

<i>Oti-wahe.</i>	Belonging to tipi.	The family.
<i>Oti-toka-hi.</i>	Coming-from another to tipi.	The guests.

The relationships of the family are:

<i>Wico-we.</i>	They-blood.	By blood.
<i>Wico-un.</i>	They-usage.	By usage.

The terms expressing the relationship of *wico-un* and *oti-toka-hi*

are the same as those expressing the relationships of *wico-we* with the addition of the suffix *-ya*. The difference between the terms for *wico-un* and those for *oti-toka-hi* is that the former are permanent while the latter are temporary.

The binding force of the relationship depends somewhat on the gender, but this varies according to the ages. The genders are:

<i>wica</i>	male
<i>wino</i>	female
<i>wico</i>	neuter, they or those of the mankind.

The ages are:

MALE	FEMALE	NEUTER	
<i>wica-hca</i>	<i>wino-hca</i>	<i>wico-kan</i>	old.
<i>wica-hcala</i>	<i>wino-hcala</i>		oldish.
<i>wica-sa</i>	<i>wino-hinca</i>	<i>wico-tanka</i>	adult.
<i>koska</i>	<i>wi-koska</i>	<i>wico-koska</i>	young.
<i>koskala</i>	<i>wi-koskala</i>		youngish.
<i>hoksi</i>	<i>wi-cinca</i>	<i>wakan-heza</i>	boy, girl, child.
<i>hoksila</i>	<i>wi-cincala</i>		boyish, girlish, childish.
<i>hoksicala</i>	<i>hoksicala</i>	<i>hoksicala</i>	babe.

The bond of relationship is strongest toward those whose ages are expressed by terms which have the suffix *-la*, and toward the females of such. It is the least binding toward the old females.

The Oglala call their collective terms of relationship *wowa-hecon*, (do-mark). The *wowa-hecon* of the *ti-ognaka* are as follows:

MALE	FEMALE	INTERPRETATIONS
Hingna	Ta-win	Husband of one wife, only wife, wife of husband.
Bluze	Ta-yak	Husband of more than one wife, plural wife of husband not sister of other wife.
	Mita-yak	Plural wife, if sister of other wife.
	Wi-nu	Wife captured from another people, or wife loaned temporarily.
	Ta-wicu	Wife of any kind, when connubial relation has been consummated.
Hunkake	Hunkake	Ancestor.
Tunkan	Kun	Grandfather, paternal grandmother (may be used by any one).

	Kunsi	Paternal grandmother (used only by grandchildren in addressing or speaking of their father's mother).
	Onci	Maternal grandmother (may be used by any one).
	Oncisi	Maternal grandmother (used in this sense only by grandchildren when addressing or speaking of their mother's mother), mother-in-law (when used by any other than the grandchildren); a term of respect used when addressing any very old woman, i. e., <i>wino-hca</i> .
Tunkansi		Maternal grandfather (used in this sense only by grandchildren when addressing or speaking of their mother's father), father-in-law (when used by any other than the grandchildren).
Tunkansila		Paternal grandfather (used in this sense only by grandchildren when addressing or speaking of their father's father); a term of respect used in addressing any very old man, i. e., <i>wica-hca</i> ; a title of respect given to a high official, such as the President of the United States; it is also a title of address by the Oglala to their superior god, <i>Wi</i> , the Sun.
	Omaheton	The term used only by the parents of a married daughter when addressing her husband's parents.
Omawaheton		The term used only by the parents of a married son when addressing his wife's parents.
Atku	Hun	Father, mother.
Ate		Papa (used only by children when addressing their father or his brother).
	Ina	Mama (used only by children when addressing their mother or her sister).
Cin	Cun	Son, daughter.
Tokaza	Tokaza	Grandchild.
Wica-tokaza	Wino-tokaza	Grandson, granddaughter.

Takos	Takos	Child-in-law.
Tawangan	Tawangan	Step-child.
Cinhan	Cun-win	Son, daughter, a definite person.
Cinksi	Cunksi	Son, daughter, so addressed by the father and his brothers, and by the mother and her sisters, all of whom may address the son and daughter by the following ordinal terms:
Caske	Wi-tokape	Son, daughter, first born.
Hepan	Hapan	Son, daughter, second born.
Hepi	Hepistanna	Son, daughter, third born.
Catan	Wanska	Son, daughter, fourth born.
Hake	Wi-hake	Son, daughter, fifth born.
Hakata	Hakata	Son or daughter, last born.
Cekpa	Cekpa	Son or daughter, one of twins.

The following eight terms designate the relationship of the father's and mother's and father's brothers, and mother's sister's children to each other:

MALE	FEMALE	INTERPRETATIONS
Ciye	Tanke	Eldest brother, eldest sister, of male.
Tiblo	Cunwe	Eldest brother, eldest sister, of female.
Sunka	Tankasi	Younger brother, younger sister, of male.
Sunka	Tanka	Younger brother, younger sister, of female.
Hunkasi	Hunkasi	The relation that the father's brother's children bears to the mother's sister's children, and vice versa.
Tahan	Hanke	Relative to male, brother-in-law, sister-in-law (the elder sister of wife).
	Hanka	Relative to male, sister-in-law (the younger sister of wife), and brother's wife.
Sice	Sicepan	Relative to female, brother-in-law (the sister's husband), sister-in-law (the brother's wife).
Sicesi	Sicepansi	Relative to female, uncle (the husband of the father's sister), and male cousin (the son of father's sister), sister-in-law (the wife of husband's brother), and

		female cousin (the daughter of father's sister).
Tahansi	Hankasi	Relative to male, uncle (husband of father's sister), and nephew (child of sister), aunt (the wife of the mother's brother), and niece (the child of the sister).
Tonzan	Tonska	Relative to male, nephew, niece (child of wife's brother).
Tozan	Toska	Relative to female, nephew, niece (child of brother or of husband's sister).
Leksi	Tonwin	Uncle (the brother of the mother), aunt (the sister of the father).
Hunka-wanzi	Wino-htin	Brother, sister, in a fraternal manner.
Hunka	Hunka	Relative adopted with ceremony.
Ateya		Foster-father.

My father's brother's children and my mother's sister's children speak to and of my father and mother as if these were their own parents, while my father and mother speak to and of such children as if they were their own. The terms of relationship of the father's and mother's children, and of the father's brother's children, and of the mother's sisters' children are the same as if they were all children of the same family.

To make the distinction between the actual father and mother and their children, and the father's brothers' and mother's sisters' and their children, possessive *ki* (own) is used, usually with a pronoun following the term of relationship, for instance:

tiblo (her elder brother) may be the son of her father or of her father's brother, or of her mother's sister. *Tiblo wicaki* (her elder brother their own) would be the son of her father.

The same conditions apply to step-relatives.

*Text*¹

Lakota agina wowahecon tona un kin lenakeca ye lo

Lakota among relationship as-many use the all-these

The Lakota use all these terms of relationship.

¹ This is a copy of a paper written in Lakota by Thomas Tyon, an Oglala, with interlinear translation and interpretation. The terminal words *lo*, *pe lo*, *we lo*, and *ye lo* constitute an oral period as used in English composition, and they are represented accordingly in the translation.

Tokaheya wanna wanji wicaxa tawicun ton kij han tawicu mitawicu
 Beginning now one man wife has own when wife my-wife
 The beginning is when a man has his own wife he addresses her as mi-ta-wicu.

eya cekiya lo Na inx winyan kin mihingna eya cekiya lo
 says addresses . And while woman the my-husband says addresses .

While the woman addresses him as mi-hingna.

Wanna hetan tokaheya wowahecon otokaheya iyaye lo

Now from-this beginning relationship beginning-of reckoned .

Now the relationship is reckoned from this beginning.

Iho wanna cinca wanji hokxila ca tonpi kinhan iyohakapa wanji

Well now child one boy may-be born the-when afterwards one

Well now if a child is born it may be a boy, and then if afterwards another is

tonpa yunkan wicincala ca tonpi kinhan hokxila kin wacekiyan kte
 born and-if girl may-be born the-when boy the I-address will
 born it may be a girl, and then if the boy addresses the girl he will say mi-tanksila.

cinhan mitanksila eya lo Na inx wicincala kin wacekiyin kte cinhan
 the-when my-younger-sister says . And while girl the I-address will the-when

While the girl in addressing him will say tiblo.

tiblo eye lo Iho wanna ake iyohakapi wanji yuhapi yunkan ake
 elder-brother says . Well now again afterwards one have and-if again

Well now again if they have one and it is a boy, then when

hokxila kinhan tokapapi gon heyus cekinyapi kte cinhan unma winyan

boy the-when first-born said either address will the-when other female
 those first born address him, though one is a female and the other a male, they will

na unma wica qeyax nonpin yan misunkala eyapi lo Nahan
 and other male though both speak my-younger-brother say . And-when
 both speak the same and say mi-sunkala. And when

inx eya hakakta kin wacekinyin kte cinhan unma ciye eye lo
 while says youngest the I-address will the-when other elder-brother says .
 the youngest addresses his elder brother he will say ciye.

Nahan unma kin tanke eye lo Iho hecel wicowepi gon hena winyan
 And-when other the elder-sister says . Well thus family said those female
 And when his elder sister he says tanke. Well in this family in case the first is a

wan tokapi ehantanx cunwe eya cekinpe lo Na hakatala gon he he
 a first in-case older-sister say address . And youngest said that that
 female they address her as cunwe. And if the youngest is a female

mitankala eya cekinyape lo Nahan wicowepi nonp wicapi ehantanx
 my-younger-sister say address . And-when family two males in-case
 they address her as mi-tankala. And when in case there are two males in the

tokapa gon he ciye eya cekinyapi lo Na hakatala gon he
 first said that elder-brother say address . And youngest said that
 family they address the first born as ciye. And they address the

misunkala eya cekinyape lo Iho hecel wicasa wan winyan wan
 my-younger-brother say address Well thus man a woman a
 youngest as mi-sunkala. Well it is thus, if a man and a woman are

kici kiciyuza qon he tibloku tankaku nainx
 together hold-each other said that elder-brother-of younger-sister-of and-while
 married and together as mentioned, then in case the woman has an elder brother, a

cuweku esa yuke ehantanx winyan kin le hinknaku kin le
 elder-sister-of if there-are in-case woman the this husband-of the this
 younger sister, and an elder sister, the husband of this wife will call her sisters tanka.

tawicu kin tanka yin kte lo
 wife the younger-sister says will

Na wica ehantanx tahan yin kte lo Na inx eya hektakiya
 And male in-case brother-in-law says will . And while says in-reply
 And in this case he calls the male tahan. And he will say in replying,

tahan eya kte lo Na winyan kin han inx wica kin na
 brother-in-law says will . And woman the when while male the and
 tahan. And in such case the woman will say xice.

xice eyin kte lo Iho hecel wicaxa nonp tanhan kiciyapi qon
 brother-in-law says will . Well thus men two tanhan call-each said
 Well when two men call each other tanhan and their

icincapi kin hena iyuha winyan na inx wicapi qon hena winyanpi qon
 children-of the those all female and while males said those females said
 children are as mentioned, a female and males, in case the female children of the
hena atkukupi cincapi qon winyan ca wacekinyan kte ehantanx xicexi
 those fathers-of children sd female may-be I-address will in-case cousin
 fathers address the males they will say xicexi.

eya lo
 say .

Na wica kin wacekinyin kte cinhan hankasi eya lo Wicaxa nonp
 And male the I-address will the-when cousin say . Men two
 And the male addressing the female will say hankasi. When two
tanhan kiciyapi qon unma tanhanku cinca wanji cekinyin kte cinhan
 tanhan call-each other said other tanhan-of child one addresses will the-when
 men call each other tanhan if one addresses the child of the other, in case it is a

winyan ehantanx tonjan eya lo
 female in-case niece says .
 female he says tonjan.

Na wica kinhan tonxka eye lo Kinhan inx eya cekinyapi kte ehan-
 And male the-when nephew says . The-when while say address will in-
 And if it is a male he says tonxka. While if they address him in such case they
tanx lekxi eyapi kte lo Nahan tawicu kin inx eya hak taku cinca
 case uncle say will . And-when wife the while says youngest-brother-of child
 will say lekxi. And if his wife addresses her youngest broth child, may

kin cewica kinyin kte cinhan winyan ca cekinyan kte cinhan tn
the addresses-them will the-when female may-be addresses will the-when niece
be it is a female when she will address it and say tonjan.

eye lo Wica ehantanx toxka eye lo

says . Male in-case nephew says .

If a male she says toxka.

Na inx eya aekinyapi kte nonpin tonwin eyapi kte lo

And while say address will both aunt say will .

And both when they address her will say tonwin.

Iho wicaxa wan tawicu qon he tawicu kin atkuku kin cekinyan tun-

Well man a wife said that wife the father-of the addresses father-

Well when a man addresses the father of his wife he will say tunkansi.

kansi eye kte lo Na inx convintku hingnaku kin cekinyin kte ehantanx
in-law says will . And while daughter-of husband-of the addresses will in-case

And in case he addresses the husband of his daughter he will say

mitakos ayin kte lo Nahan hehanl wicaxa wanji tawicu hunku kin
my-son-in-law says will . And-when then man one wife mother-of the
mi-takos.

And then when a man addresses the mother of his

cekinyin kte cinhan oncisi eyin kte lo Kin hana inx eya mita-
addresses will the-when mother-in-law says will . The when while says my-son-in-
wife he will say oncisi.

While she will address him as

kos eyin kte lo

law says will .

mi-takos.

Iho ito miya un Thomas Tyon micinca kin cincapi kin hena takoza

Well so I am Thomas Tyon my-child the children the those grandchild

Well I am Thomas Tyon, and the children of my child I call takoza.

wica waye lo Kin inx tunkansila mayanpe lo

them I-call . The while grandfather call-me .

While they call me tunkansila.

Hehanyan hecetu we lo

So far correct .

This is correct so far.

Iho ake winyan wanji kiciwaun yunkan ehantanx cinca yuke

Well again woman one I-am-together and-if in-case child there-is

Well again, if I marry a woman and in case she already has a child, then I will

cinhan cinca kin tawangan wayin kte lo Na inx ate mayan kte lo Iho
the-when child the step-child I-call will . And while papa call-me will . Well
call this child tawangan.

And it will call me ate.

Well

hecel micinca kin tawicu kin atkuku kin omawahetun wayin kte lo Na inx
thus my-child the wife the father-of the omawahetun I-call will . And while
thus I will call the father of my child's wife omawahetun.

And he

eya omahetun mayin kte lo

says omahetun calls-me will .

will call me omahetun.

Na lekxi cinca kin wacipi kin hena tahanxi wicawayin kte lo

And uncle children the males the those nephew I-call-them will .

And I will call the male children of my wife's brother tahanxi.

Na winyanpi kin hena hankaxi wicawayin kte lo Na inx eya wicapi

And females the those niece I-call-them will . And while say males

And I will call his female children hankaxi.

And the males will call

kin hena tahanxi mayanpi kte lo Nahan na winyanpi kin hena xicexi

the those uncle call-me will . And-when and females the those uncle
me tahanxi. And the females will call me xicexi.

mayanpi kte lo Iho hehanl winyan nonp wicabluzé kin teyaku

call-me will . Well then women two polygynous the plural-wife-of

Well, when two women are married to one man they will call each

kiciyapi kte lo Wowahécon kin he curvé kiciyapi quyax onpi

call-each other will . Relationship the that sisters call-each other though use
other teyaku. Sisters do not use this term of relationship for when they ad-

xni miteyaku kin eya cekiciyapi lo Iho hecel ito mitawicu

not my-plural-wife-of they say address-each other . Well thus so my-wife
dress each other they say mi-teyaku. When I speak of my wife's

atkuku kin tunkan waye lo Na mitawicu hunku kin oncisi

father-of the grandfather I-say . And my-wife mother-of the mother-in-law
father I call him tunkan. And I call my wife's mother oncisi.

waye lo Na inx nonpin takos mayanpi lo Na mitawicu kin atkuku

I say . And while both son-in-law call-me . And my-wife the father-of

While they both call me takos.

My wife's father and her

na hunku kin kici omahetun kiciyapi lo

and mother-of the each other omahetun call-each other .

mother call each other omahetun.

Na mitawicu wicowépi kin tona winyanpi kin iyuha hanka wicaw-

And my-wife family the as-many females the all hanka I-call-

And I call all the females of my wife's family hanka.

aye lo

them .

Na inx iyuha xice mayanpi lo Na mitawicu hakataku wi-

And while all xice call-me . And my-wife younger-brother-of they-

And they all call me xice.

And I call all of my wife's real younger

caki iyuha tanhan wicawaye lo Na inx eya tanhan mayanpe lo

own all tanhan I-call-them . And while say tanhan call-me .

brothers tanhan.

And they call me tanhan.

Iho hecel micinca winyan kin cewakinyin kte cinhan cunksi epin kte lo

Well thus my-child female the I-address will the-when cunksi I-say wil .

Well thus when I address my female child I will say cubkxi.

Na wica kin cinkxi epin kte lo Na inx mitawicu kin han conwintku kin

And male the cinkxi I-say will . And while my-wife the when daughter-of the

And I will say to the male cinkxi. And when my wife addresses her daughter she

cinhan cunkxi eyin kte lo Nahan cinca wica kin ecekinyan kte cinhan

the-when cunkxi says will . And-when child male the address-to will the-when

will say cunkxi. And when she addresses her male child she will say

cinkxi eyin kte lo

cinkxi says will .

cinkxi.

Iho hecel ito micinca winyan he tuwe tokeca wawiyunga cinhan

Well thus so my-child female that who another I-speak-to the-when

Well thus when I speak to another of my female children I will say this.

heyin kte lo He tuwa cunwintku so eyin lo Nahan micinca wica kin

say-this will . That who daughter-of ask says . And-when my-child male the

I speak of her as cunwintku. And when my child is a male I

kicihan he tuwe cinhintku so eyin kte lo Nahan micinca xni ehantanx

when-for that who son-of ask say will . And-when my-child not in-case

will speak of him as cinhintku. And when I speak of my step-child

he tuwe tanku¹ so eyapi lo

that who step-child-of ask say .

I say tanku.¹

Na nakun he tuwa tawanganku so eyapi lo

And if that who step-child ask say .

And if a step-child I say tawanganku.

Iho hehanyan slolwa ye lo

Well this-much I-know .

Well this is as much as I know.

FORT LUPTON, COLORADO

¹ This alludes to the father's brother's children and the mother's sister's children. See above, page 103.